

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 04069 01 OF 02 271507Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 NEA-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
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R 271425Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5568
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN UNN
AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 4069

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, CSCE, MBFR, GW, UR, XF
SUBJECT: VAN WELL VISIT TO MOSCOW -- ARMS CONTROL, CSCE, MIDDLE EAST

SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR RECEIVED POST-MEETING RUNDOWN FROM VAN WELL
ON HIS MEETINGS WITH SOVIET COUNTERPARTS, MARCH 22-24. THIS WAS
SUPPLEMENTED BY DETAILED DEBRIEF GIVEN US BY FRG EMBOFF READING
FROM REPORTING TELEGRAMS. BILATERAL MATTERS WERE MAIN FOCUS OF
TALKS AND ARE REPORTED SEPTEL. IN GENERAL VAN WELL THOUGHT
SOVIETS MADE EFFORT TO BE FRIENDLY, AVOIDED POLEMICS AND APPEARED
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 04069 01 OF 02 271507Z

RELAXED ABOUT FUTURE OF DETENTE.

-- ON NON-PROLIFERATION, SOVIETS CRITICIZED FRG-BRAZIL
DEAL AND ASKED FOR FRG SUPPORT IN LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP FOR
FULL FUEL CYCLE CONTROLS.

-- ON CTB, SOVIETS SUGGESTED PNE DETAILS COULD BE WORKED OUT

OUTSIDE OF CTB TREATY. THEY DID NOT RESPOND TO VAN WELL'S SUGGESTION THAT ONLY THREE NUCLEAR STATES MIGHT SET EXAMPLE FOR OTHERS. MAIN SOVIET CONCERN IS THAT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS SOMEHOW "PARTICIPATE" IN CTB BEFORE COMING INTO FORCE OF CTB.

-- SOVIETS PUSHED HARD FOR THEIR PROPOSALS FOR ETE CONFERENCES AND FOR NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

-- THE MIDDLE EAST COMMENTS OF THE SOVIETS WERE REPEATS OF BREZHNEV'S MARCH 21 SPEECH AND ON CSCE THEY WERE RELAXED ABOUT BELGRADE, SUGGESTING INITIATIVES, BUT UNFORTHCOMING ON ORGANIZATION OF BELGRADE I AND II. END SUMMARY.

1. VAN WELL MET WITH MFA THIRD EUROPEAN CHIEF BONDARENKO ON BILATERAL MATTERS, WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CHIEF ISRAELYAN ON ARMS CONTROL AND NON-PROLIFERATION, WITH AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE MENDELVICH ON CSCE, AND PAID CALL ON DEPUTY MINISTER KOVALEV INSTEAD OF GROMYKO TO DELIVER A LETTER FROM SCHMIDT TO BREZHNEV (SEPTTEL). FORMER DCM OF SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON VORONTSOV WAS PRESENT AND WAS INTRODUCED AS MENDELVICH'S SUCCESSOR. FOLLOWING BY SUBJECT ARE THE MAIN INTERNATIONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED.

2. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS: VAN WELL THOUGHT THAT WITH THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND BREZHNEV'S RECENT CRITICAL REMARKS ABOUT THE U.S. AND WEST, THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TALKS MIGHT NOT BE GOOD, BUT THE SOVIETS MADE A REAL EFFORT TO BE FRIENDLY. KOVALEV RECEIVED HIM AS ACTING MINISTER, SINCE GROMYKO WAS WITH HIS ILL WIFE, VAN WELL WAS TOLD. (COMMENT: FRG AMBASSADOR SAHM PAID A CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 04069 01 OF 02 271507Z

FAREWELL COURTESY CALL ON GROMYKO DURING VAN WELL'S VISIT, LEAVING THE BILATERAL TALKS AND RETURNING AFTER A BRIEF NON-SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE. VAN WELL WAS NOT RECEIVED.) VAN WELL SAID THERE WERE NO POLEMICS AGAINST THE U.S. OR OTHER ALLIES, ON CONTRARY, THERE WAS STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. VORONTSOV, IN VAN WELL'S VIEW, ALMOST APPEARED TO CONVEY AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE "BREAKING IN" PERIOD OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND SPOKE CONFIDENTLY OF THE PENDULUM SWINGING BACK TO NORMALITY IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

3. NON-PROLIFERATION: ISRAELYAN CRITICIZED FRG-BRAZIL NUCLEAR DEAL ON GROUNDS THAT IT TRANSFERRED "SENSITIVE MATERIALS" TO PARTY WHICH WAS NOT NPT MEMBER AND WAS A "VIOLENT OPPONENT" OF NON-PROLIFERATION. VAN WELL ASSERTED THAT THE DEAL WAS GOING TO BE CARRIED OUT, THAT THE FRG WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH ALL ELEMENTS OF NPT AND THE LONDON GUIDELINES, AND THAT THIS WAS NOT PROPER SUBJECT FOR CRITICISM. ISRAELYAN REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT MEAN TO CRITICIZE FRG, BUT ONLY TO EXPRESS CONCERN OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND ADDED THAT THE USSR IS INTERESTED IN STRENGTHENING

EXISTING SAFEGUARDS REGIME AND WILL CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS IN LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP AND ELSEWHERE. HE AGREED WITH VAN WELL THAT NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE USER STATES AND ADDITIONALLY ASKED FOR FRG SUPPORT IN THE LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP FOR FULL FUEL CYCLE CONTROLS.

4. CTB: VAN WELL SUGGESTED THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOT INITIALLY INCLUDE ALL NUCLEAR POWERS THAT AT LEAST THREE OF THEM (U.S., UK, USSR) TRY TO SET GOOD EXAMPLE. ISRAELYAN DID NOT REPLY. IN SIDE DISCUSSION BETWEEN FRG DISARMAMENT EXPERT AND ISRAELYAN'S DEPUTY TIMERBAYEV, TIMERBAYEV RESTATED SOVIET POSITION ON SUFFICIENCY OF NTM IN VERIFYING CTB, BUT REPEATED ACCEPTANCE OF SOMETHING LIKE "SWEDISH FORMULA" TO SATISFY THOSE WHO FEEL ON-SITE INSPECTION IS NECESSARY. TIMERBAYEV ALSO SAID THAT ALTHOUGH PNE'S SHOULD BE MENTIONED IN ANY CTB AGREEMENT, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT DETAILS IN A FRAMEWORK OUTSIDE CTB TREATY ITSELF. PREPARATIONS FOR CTB DISCUSSIONS, HE SAID, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 04069 01 OF 02 271507Z

SHOULD BE CONTINUED REGARDLESS OF RESULTS OF U.S.-SOVIET TALKS DURING VANCE VISIT, AND HE ENVISAGED POSSIBILITY OF TWO-TIERED TALKS TAKING PLACE, GIVING AS EXAMPLE "EXPERTS LEVEL" TALKS IN GENEVA AND "POLITICAL LEVEL" TALKS IN NEW YORK. HE NOTED THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE INCLUSION OF ALL NUCLEAR POWERS IN A CTB, THE SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED THAT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS SOMEHOW "PARTICIPATE" BEFORE THE COMING INTO FORCE OF A CTB. WHEN ASKED, IN THIS CONNECTION, IF THE BREZHNEV SPEECH REPRESENTED A NEW POSITION FOR THE SOVIETS, TIMERBAYEV DECLINED TO COMMENT BECAUSE, HE SAID, AT HIS LEVEL HE COULD NOT EXPAND ON BREZHNEV'S WORDS. BUT HE DID NOT ASSERT THAT BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS NOT A CHANCE IN POSITION.

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 04069 02 OF 02 271508Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 4069

5. NUCLEAR NON-FIRST USE (NNFU) AND ETE CONFERENCES:
THE SOVIETS PUSHED VAN WELL HARD ON THEIR PET PROJECTS. THE
SOLE POINT MADE BY KOVALEV IN HIS MEETING WITH VAN WELL WAS
ON NNFU AND THIS WAS REINFORCED IN CONVERSATIONS WITH
ISRAEL YAN AND MENDELEVICH. THE SOVIETS MADE IT PLAIN THEIR
PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY IS STILL ON THE TABLE, ALTHOUGH THEY
DID NOT PRESS FOR DISCUSSIONS OF IT IN BELGRADE. MENDEL-
EVICH INDICATED THAT WHILE THE TREATY QUESTION WOULD NOT BE
DISCUSSED AT BELGRADE, GROMYKO'S PROPOSAL FOR A PREPARATORY
MEETING OF CSCE STATES TO DISCUSS NNFU MAY BE RAISED THERE
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 04069 02 OF 02 271508Z

BY THE USSR. VAN WELL REPLIED THAT ANY SUBJECT RELATING
TO SECURITY AND THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN EUROPE WAS DELICATE
AND AGUED THAT ONCE CONVENTIONAL WAR BROKE OUT, NO ONE
COULD GUARANTEE AGAINST ESCALATION. HENCE, HE SAID, A
NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL WOULD BE BETTER. THE SOVIET PRO-
POSAL WAS DISCUSSED THOROUGHLY IN BONN AND AGAIN IN
BRUSSELS, VAN WELL STRESSED, AND NATO MEMBERS AGREED
THAT NO DOUBT SHOULD BE LEFT THAT THE PROPOSAL IS UNACCEPTABLE.
NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIETS INDICATED THAT THEY HAD LEARNED
OF "DIFFERENT" VIEWS IN NATO. ON THE THREE BREZHNEV (ETE)
CONFERENCES, VAN WELL TOOK A STRONG LINE ON THE NEED FOR
WORKING THROUGH THE ECE. MENDELEVICH EXPRESSED THE HOPE
THAT THE CONFERENCES WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN BELGRADE IF
THE ECE FAILED TO COMPLETE CONSIDERATION OF THEM IN GENEVA.

6 OTHER ARMS CONTROL: THE UNSSOD WAS DISCUSSED WITH
ISRAEL YAN WHO AGREED WITH VAN WELL THAT STRESS IN THAT
FORUM SHOULD BE PLACED ON RESTRAINT ON ARMS TRANSFERS.

HOWEVER, THE SOVIET SIDE POINTED OUT THAT THIS IS A COMPLEX PROBLEM WHICH INVOLVED QUESTIONS ABOUT RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN SITUATIONS WHERE THERE ARE AGGRESSORS AND VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION. VAN WELL MADE THE POINT THAT THE UNSSOD WAS A CREATURE OF THE NON-ALLIGNED MOVEMENT AND THAT HE EXPECTED TO SEE THE EMPHASIS IN THE MEETING PLACED ON REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS AND CUTS IN THE BUDGETS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. THERE WAS AN EMPHATIC INTEREST BY THE SOVIETS IN A QUICK AGREEMENT ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND ALTHOUGH THEY RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN RELIABLE VERIFICATION, THEY MAINTAINED THAT NTM WAS SUFFICIENT. IN A SIDE CONVERSATION WITH TIMERBAYEV ON MBFR HE EXPRESSED THE STANDARD SOVIET POSITION AND CLAIMED THE FRG WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR BLOCKING AGREEMENT, BUT HE TOOK NOTE OF THE POSITIVE STATEMENTS BY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT THAT THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR POLITICAL DECISIONS TO MOVE THE TALKS FORWARD.

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 04069 02 OF 02 271508Z

7 CSCE: VAN WELL TALKED AT LENGTH WITH OSIET CSCE EXPERT MENDELEVICH AND HIS SUCCESSOR VORONTSOV. THEY HAD A POSITIVE ATTITUDE ABOUT THE BELGRADE MEETINGS AND DID NOT SEEM OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ON THE CONFERENCE. MENDELEVICH TOOK THE POSITION THAT THERE WERE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, BUT THAT IN THE END OTHE POSITIVE ELEMENTS WOULD PREVAIL. IN ADDITION TO REPEATING THE USUAL SOVIET FORMULATIONS ABOUT BELGRADE LOOKING TO FUTURE AND BEING A FORUM ONLY FOR EXCHANGES OF OPINION, MENDELEVICH CITED THE SWISS PROPOSAL ON ARBITRATION AND THE FRG PROPOSAL FOR A SCIENTIFIC FORUM AS GOOD, PRACTICAL IDEAS WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN MORE CONCRETE FORM AND SHOULD BE BROUGHT UP FOR DISCUSSION IN BELGRADE. CBM'S COULD NOT BE CHANGED IN BELGRADE, SOVIETS ARGUED, BECAUSE IT WAS "UNREALISTIC" TO THINK THAT AFTER LENGTH OF TIME IT TOOK TO AGREE ON PRESENT PARAMETERS, THAT SHORT MEETINGS SUCH AS BELGRADE COULD HOPE TO CHANGE THEM.

8 IN DISCUSSING HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN CSCE CONTEXT, VAN WELL TOOK LINE THAT BASKET III REFERENCES TO HR HAD TO DO WITH CONTACTS BETWEEN STATES, WHEREAS MENTION OF RIGHTS IN BASKET I PRINCIPLES HAD TO DO WITH HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS WITHIN EACH COUNTRY. THEREFORE, STATEMENTS ON HR COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CSCE STATES. HE WENT ON TO LIST THREE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH CSCE WAS CONCERNED WITH: (A) HR MUST BE GUARANTEED BY ALL CSCE STATES; (B) RESPECT FOR HR MUST BE OBSERVED IN BILATERAL RELATIONS; (C) THERE SHOULD BE INDIVIDUAL STATE EFFORTS TO REALIZE HR, BUT

THERE MUST ALSO BE COMMON EFFORTS, INCLUDING THOSE IN
CONTEXT OF UN. TO THESE THREE POINTS, MENDELEVICH AGREE.
THE SOVIETS PUT OFF ATTEMPTS TO PROBE INTO THEIR
POSITIONS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BELGRADE MEETINGS
ON THE GROUNDS THAT AS LONG AS THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN ON
HUMAN RIGHTS CONTINUES, IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS
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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 04069 02 OF 02 271508Z

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS.

9. MIDDLE EAST: IN HIS CONVERATIONS WITH SYTENKO
VAN WELL NOT A RERUN OF THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF BREZHNEV'S
TRADE UNION CONGRESS SPEECH. ADDITIONALLY, STENKO COMMENTED
THAT THE PNC CAIRO CONGRESS WAS NOT A SETBACK IN THAT THE
PALESTINIANS ARE MORE FLEXIBLE AND REALISTIC AS SHOWN BY
THE POLITICAL DECLARATION THEY ADOPTED REFELCTING A MOVE
AWAY FROM THE 1974 MANIFESTO. SYTENKO ASSURED VAN WELL
THAT THE SOVIET UNION AS A CREATOR OF ISRAEL WOULD INSIST
ON ITS PRESERVATION, ALTHOUGH ISRAEL MUST WITHDRAW COMPLETELY
FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE DID NOT COMMIT HIMSELF ON
THE FORM OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT A CONFERENCE, BUT
PUSHED FOR RECONVENING GENEVA AND ENCOURAGED THE FRG AS A
MEMBER OF THE EC-9 TO GET THE EC COUNTRIES TO PUT MORE
PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN ITS POSITIONS
SM
FINALLY HE NOTED THAT IF THE PRESENT SITUATION DRAGS ON
WITHOUT SOLUTION THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF THE OIL
PROBLEM ARISING AGAIN. THIS SHOULD, HE SAID, STIMULATE
WEST EUROPEAN INTEREST IN A SOLUTION.
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